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Spree, Reinhard

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THE GERMAN PETITE BOURGEOISIE AND THE DECLINE OF FERTILITY: SOME  
STATISTICAL EVIDENCE FROM THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Reinhard Spree<sup>+</sup>

In this following paper I present some data on fertility differentials in the German petite bourgeoisie and their longterm changes from the end of the 19th century up to the 1930s. As my main interest is in the statistics, I give little attention to the discussion of hypotheses explaining the overall decline of fertility in Germany and the apparent social differences in this decline. After characterizing the trend of the secular fertility reduction in Germany since the late 1870s, I concentrate on fertility differentials between various groups of the petite bourgeoisie according to the average number of children per marriage. Afterwards I compare these differing fertility levels with fertility data for some other social groups.

In the period under investigation, the petite bourgeoisie adapted to changing living and working conditions, to a changing distribution of earnings and to changing social networks by quickly reducing marital fertility. With regard to the average family size, differences in demographic behavior between the various parts of the petite bourgeoisie were reduced. But these differences were accentuated with respect to the number of childless couples, as well as the number of very small families, which follow what I call the "single-child-family-model". Whereas the demographic behavior of independent craftsmen resisted this trend, the independents in trade were, with regard to the whole society, one of the leading groups in birth-rate reduction.

1. Introductory Remarks; Concepts; Methodological Problems

A secular reduction in birth and fertility rates in Germany began during the later half of the 1870's and continued without interruption up into the 1930's. (1) "Although fertility in 1900 was still quite high, with two provinces within 10 per cent of the Hutterite schedule, between 1871 and the early 1930's overall fertility... fell by 60 per cent, marital fertility by 65 per cent and illegitimate fertility by 54 per cent... Furthermore this remarkable change cannot be attributed to any alteration in nuptial-

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<sup>+</sup>Address all communications to: Reinhard Spree, Campestraße 7,  
1000 Berlin 27

ity, as the proportion of women in the fertile age group actually married increased during this period". (2)

Given the relative lack of appropriate data present up to this day, it is not surprising that rather broad theories exist on the social differentiation of birth-rate reduction in Germany, theories which in fact partially contradict themselves. The petite bourgeoisie is usually not represented in the conclusions made in relevant investigations. If mentioned at all, it is done in a confusing manner. Some segments of the petite bourgeoisie appear as representatives of classes whose reproductive performance changed at a very early stage, while another, larger segment is seen as a prototype for the "stationary classes" which adapted their reproductive performance to the global trend only slowly and at a very late stage.(3) This investigational deficiency can probably be attributed to the well-known problem of defining the composition of the petite bourgeoisie in a sociologically meaningful way. Any solution to the problem is dependent on which theoretical concept is used. For the purpose of demographic investigations I prefer a concept in which priority is given to the nature of social environments and related realms of experience, as well as to economic factors. For this reason I do not include the "new middle-class" (professionals and free-lance artists, officials, salaried employees) in the petite bourgeoisie. In my view the petite bourgeoisie is seen as a social class with an identity that has been economically established: the various groups of independents (self-employed) which belong to the petite bourgeoisie all share a common "plight", namely the threat of financial ruin in an industrial-capitalistic society characterized by an ongoing accumulation and centralization of capital. This common economic identity need by no means, however, determine uniform or even similar behavior (with respect to demography, for example) among members of this class due to the marked differences in the nature of their work, work conditions, work results and networks of communication associated with their work.

In the Reichs-Familienstatistik of 1939 (4), the most valuable source of information on the differentiation of the decline in birth-rate in Germany during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, social groups are categorized both according to their occupational position and to their profession or line of business. (In addition there is a differentiation based on municipality size, although limited to high levels of aggregation.) The following groups of independents are of interest: independents in clear-cut crafts; other independents involved in commercial production (in industry or craft); independents in trade; transportation; and hotels/restaurants. Data are not present of firm size, volume of capital, or number of employees. On the basis of given statistics, it can, however, be concluded that a great majority of the independents controlled only a small amount of capital and worked either alone or with few co-workers in small or very small firms.(5) My conception of the petite bourgeoisie would therefore consist of these five groups. The information as to which sector of business or industry they belong I would see as an indicator of specific work conditions, workrelated experiences, and dimensions of social communication. These petite bourgeois groups can be compared to other groups of independents, especially selected free occupations (independent professionals and free-lance artists) and farmers. I also draw officials, salaried employees, workers and smaller divisions of these three groups into my comparison. Regional studies are occasionally referred to in my evaluation.

In the following observations I used the number of children born to each married couple as an indicator of marital fertility. Children who were legitimized sometime after birth, still-borns and those who died prior to completion of delivery, as well as children living outside of the home were included in these calculations. When interpreting group averages one should remember that unfertile marriages were also included. The numbers of children per marriage are arranged in cohorts according to the date of marriage contraction in order to elucidate temporal trends of development. At this point an explanation pertaining to methodology seems important. When dealing with differential birth-rate reduction, we are basically interested in differences in completed fertility. Marriages in which the woman is at least 45 years of age (50 is even better) and the man at least 50 or even 60 are typically considered unions in which fertility is completed. Because the data analyzed here were compiled in 1936 and 1939, only marriages contracted before 1914 might be regarded. I have chosen, however, to include marriages contracted up to and within the period 1925 - 1929 because there are many indications that very few children are born to the great majority of marriages after the tenth year of union. This is supported among other things by the figures in tables 1 and 2 (see appendix for all tables referred to in this study). In the table for craftsmen, table 1, becomes apparent that in marriages contracted before 1900 over half of births took place before the sixth year of marriage and that almost three-fourths had occurred before the tenth year. This situation accelerated rapidly in marriages contracted before World War 1. Here two-thirds of births occurred before the sixth year of marriage, more than four-fifths before the tenth. In the next marriage cohorts the situation changed even more drastically: in fact more than three-fourths of births had occurred before the sixth year of marriage and upwards of 90 per cent before the tenth. As seen in table 2, the situation for farmers was very similar. One may therefore conclude that the figures for marriage cohorts after 1914 are not entirely exact, rather, they are slightly underestimated. However, the basic differences between the social groups should not be affected in any way. (6)

## 2. Reduction in the Number of Children per Marriage in the Petite Bourgeoisie and in Other Selected Groups

### 2.1 Reduction of Fertility in the Petite Bourgeoisie

Let us first look at the level and tempo of fertility reduction in the petite bourgeoisie. The statistical information is summarized in tables 3, 4, and 5. As already expressed in the heading, there was a consistent decline in fertility from one marriage cohort to the next during the period under investigation. This was not only true for the population as a whole, but also for all of the various segments of the petite bourgeoisie. The highest number of children per marriage within the petite bourgeoisie was shown for the independent craftsmen, the lowest for independents in trade. It proves important to distinguish between trade and transportation as well as between craftsmen and remaining independents involved in commercial production ("other independents in trade and craft"). These groups are often combined, but indeed display very notable differences. This is seen especially well in table 5, where the number of children per marriage in each

occupational group is expressed in percentage of number of children for craftsmen. The number of children per marriage for the remaining independents involved in commercial production was consistently about 13 - 15 per cent lower than the number for craftsmen. In several marriage cohorts the number of children for independents in transportation varied only slightly from the number for craftsmen: the maximum discrepancy was only 7 per cent (marriage cohort 1910 - 1914). In contrast, the number of children for independents in trade were at least 17 per cent lower than those for craftsmen, maximally 22 per cent lower (marriage cohorts 1910 - 1914 and 1920 - 1924). Those engaged in transportation were the most similar to craftsmen in terms of the sheer quantity of children per marriage. Most dissimilar to craftsmen were independents in trade, who, then, during the course of the period under investigation gradually resembled restaurant/hotel independents.

In table 4 fertility decline is expressed in percentage of the initial values for two periods. It becomes clear that a remarkable reduction in the number of children had already taken place before World War I. In the observed petite bourgeois groups 35 - 40 per cent of the fertility decline occurred within the 1905 - 1909 marriage cohort. During this particular time period the reduction was smallest for craftsmen, largest for transportation. The tempo in reduction for craftsmen was also lowest in the ensuing period, but highest for hotel/restaurant independents. If we disregard this last group for a moment it becomes evident how similarly the rates change for the various petite bourgeois groups. It can be concluded that the differences in number of children per marriage in table 5 for the various petite bourgeois groups might well have already existed before secular birth-rate reduction began and, with the exception of hotel/restaurant independents, remained basically the same throughout the period under investigation. This finding supports the assumption of group-specific, exogenous determinants in birth-rate reduction to which the various petite bourgeois groups responded in an increasingly similar manner regardless of their initial level of fertility.

## 2.2 Social Differences

Pertinent quantitative information is compiled in tables 3 - 5. Comparisons can best be made using table 5. A look at the most important group, the "remaining independents" (comprised mainly of professionals and free-lance artists) shows that the ongoing tendency for diminishing marital fertility, especially since World War I, was not nearly as strong for the professional/free-lance groups as for the petite bourgeois groups already discussed. The tendency was weakest for doctors, weaker than for any other social group analyzed. The other independents do not show fertility levels similar to any great extent to those of the petite bourgeoisie.

Interesting conclusions can be drawn from table 4. Here the petite bourgeoisie reduced its fertility more than many other groups during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (up until

World War 1). In this respect certain social groups "hesitated" (especially the majority of workers, particular officials and salaried employees in related fields, and farmers) i.e. fertility reduction for these groups was slower at first and accelerated later on. In contrast, other groups demonstrated a relatively slow tempo of fertility decline throughout the period under investigation, notably academicians and those in academic fields. There is much evidence that these last groups had already experienced a strong reduction in the birth rate in the early 19th century; had had a "head start" in this respect.(7)

One conclusion is that the petite bourgeoisie stands out as a special class based on the data just examined. The aforementioned heterogeneity of the petite bourgeois groups refers to the level of number of children per marriage. The petite bourgeoisie can be classified as a rather homogeneous class, however, based on the tempo and timing of birth-rate reduction. Craftsmen, quantitatively the most important group, demonstrate fertility values which approximate those of the population average - both in level and tempo of fertility reduction - which gives some credence to the ideologically distorted concept of the middle class ("Mittelstand").

### 2.3 Differences based on Municipality Size

The results in tables 6.1 - 6.3 are unfortunately negatively influenced by the fact that the petite bourgeois groups were classed together with all of the other independents (with the exception of independents in agriculture). The resulting aggregation is certainly characterized by the petite bourgeoisie, but nevertheless statements made on the basis of these data must be regarded as a bit distorted. With a suitable degree of reservation can be concluded that considerable differences are to be found between the reproductive performance of the petite bourgeoisie in large cities as opposed to in smaller municipalities. Working and living conditions as well as communication networks may well have caused an especially drastic reduction of the birth rate for members of the petite bourgeoisie dwelling in big cities. The reduction was even more radical than for the "new middle class", which is traditionally seen as "leading" in this respect. Demographically related mentalities and patterns of behavior seem to vary according to municipality size (this observation is also supported by the figures in table 7). It is impossible, however, to draw far-reaching conclusions.

Regional differences cannot be addressed here. These were impressively illustrated and interpreted in a recent study by Knodel.(8)

### 3. The Distribution of Married Couples based on the Number of Children ("Family-size Models")

The development of the 'family-size models' in the petite bour-

geoisie and in the other groups can be followed in tables 10. 1. - 10. 3. One aspect to consider is undoubtedly the variation in the number of marriages which produced no children. In the first cohort there were relatively few such marriages in each social group, and what is more important the percentages varied only insignificantly among groups (see table 10.1). The number increased steadily during the period under investigation and this increase was accelerated after World War 1 for every group. Our attention is caught by the fact that the number of infertile marriages within the group of craftsmen remains on a par with the population average throughout the study, whereas this number increased unproportionately for several petite bourgeois groups, specifically independents in trade and independents in hotels/restaurants. At the end of the period under investigation these last two groups were among those with the very highest number of infertile marriages (along with various heterogeneous groups such as the aggregate of "remaining independents", certain groups of salaried employees, which are not represented in table 10.3, and workers and unskilled labour (Koll. f. ungelernte Arbeiter/Hilfsarbeiter in the field of graphics). In addition it is notable that an ongoing differentiation exists within the petite bourgeoisie in respect to infertile marriages.

Interesting also are changes in the discrepant tendencies which become evident both as the categories representing an increasing number of children are studied and over time. Whereas petite bourgeois marriages contracted before 1905 often produced large families (4 - 6 children), marriages contracted in cohort 1905 - 1909 showed a marked reduction in family size, to the extent that by the end of the period under investigation families with four to six children were only insignificantly represented. There were similar discrepancies within the petite bourgeoisie for families with three or four children. In marriage cohort 1905 - 1909 increasing assimilation among petite bourgeois groups was already taking place for families with five or more children. The important question had become whether one wanted a second or third child. In this respect larger discrepancies appeared. In the course of the period under investigation the differentiating question had escalated to whether one wanted even a second child, whereby the number of marriages producing no children grew. In other words: important discrepancies within the petite bourgeoisie are related to the tempo at which these groups essentially went over to a "three-child family model" in the first marriage cohort, a "two-child family model" in the following period (in marriages contracted before World War 1) and a "single-child family model" in the last two cohorts. "Leaders" in this sense were independents in trade, and they were closely followed by hotel/restaurant independents. Craftsmen and independents in transportation were farthest behind.

It is not possible here to go into further comparisons of social significance. But it is important to mention the following: in as much as the aggregate of workers displays certain similarities to craftsmen in regard to the average number of children per marriage

and its development over time (see table 5), this phenomenon comes even more clearly into view under the aspect of the distribution of "family-size models". The trend of change is also important.

#### 4. Conclusions

For the purpose of this study I defined several social groups as comprising the petite bourgeoisie, groups which were essentially subjected to similar economic stress in an industrial-capitalistic society. Socially seen, this class appeared very heterogeneous at the start. But if one views fertility levels as indicators of social mentality and behavior, then the similarities in both tempo and timing of birth-rate reduction in the petite bourgeoisie are surprising. Differences in the level of the number of children per marriage are an heir from the pre-industrial period.

Closer inspection reveals new, additional differentiations within the petite bourgeoisie in the form of variations in reproductive performance. The individual groups reduced the proportion of large families (families with a maximum of six children; larger than this were rarely witnessed as early as the end of the 19th) at varying stages and with varying tempo. The proportion of marriages producing no or only a few children responded in a like fashion. Variations became especially evident at the beginning of the 20th century. It was not until after World War I that these variations diminished; the petite bourgeoisie became more homogenous again in the sense of reproductive performance.

The hypothesis thus emerged that the reduction of the birth-rate in the petite bourgeoisie was primarily initiated and then further motivated by group-nonspecific, so-called exogenous determinants. This is supported by the observation that the petite bourgeois groups, regardless of initial variation in fertility levels, seemed to react uniformly with a quick fertility decline. There are many indications that this hypothesis holds true regarding the exogenous nature of the inducing and driving factors. Nonuniform change in birth-rate reduction in the various petite bourgeois groups can be attributed to the "diversifying effect" of differing jobs, work conditions, work results and networks of communication. (9) Differences based on work in secondary or tertiary economic sectors were especially pronounced and corresponded with differences based on municipality size. In any case, urbanization did not seem to be the overpowering factor, i.e. did not appear to be the dominant one of the indicated "diversifying effects" related to line of business or industry. Rather, World War I and the social and economic changes which followed the war must be interpreted as having leveled differences in mentality and behavior to an impressive degree.

My data are not sufficient to enable a serious discussion of the causes for fertility decline in the petite bourgeoisie. But I was able to carefully test the current hypothesis which views fertility decline as a reaction to an increasing probability to survive for infants and children. (10) Given these facts, there is indicated that infant mortality in the petite bourgeoisie did not appreciably sink before the turn of the century (11), but it can be concluded from table 14 that in spite of a relatively unchanged rate of infant mortality the probability of children surviving up to the age of 5 in-



creased in the last decade of the 19th century. This observation is compatible with evidence from tables 8 and 9 showing that reduction of the birth-rate in the petite bourgeoisie was already in progress during the late 19th century. The causes and their development were presumably far more complex.

#### FOOTNOTES

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- 1 Cf. J. E. Knodel: The Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871 - 1939, Princeton, N.J., 1974, p. 246 f..
- 2 W. R. Lee: Germany, in: idem (Ed.), European Demography and Economic Growth, London 1979, p. 164.
- 3 Cf. A. Gräfin zu Castell: Forschungsergebnisse zum gruppenspezifischen Wandel generativer Strukturen, in: W. Conze (Ed.), Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neue Forschungen, Stuttgart 1976, p. 167 - 171; A. v. Nell: Die Entwicklung der generativen Strukturen bürgerlicher und bäuerlicher Familien von 1750 bis zur Gegenwart, Diss. Bochum 1973, p. 29, 58, 94; G. Mackenroth: Bevölkerungslehre. Theorie, Soziologie und Statistik der Bevölkerung, Berlin etc. 1953, p. 278 - 282, 394 - 408; F. Burgdörfer: Volk ohne Jugend. Geburtenschwund und Überalterung des deutschen Volkskörpers, Berlin 1934, p. 53 - 58.
- 4 Volkszählung. Die Familien im Deutschen Reich, bearbeitet im Statistischen Reichsamt, Berlin 1943 (Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, vol. 554: Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung v. 17.5.1939); cf. F. Burgdörfer: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Ergebnisse der Familienstatistik, in: Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie, vol. 36 (1942), p. 411 - 479; idem: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung nach der deutschen Familienstatistik, in: Homo. Internationale Zeitschrift für die vergleichende Forschung am Menschen, vol. 1 (1949), p. 20 - 38; Castell: Forschungsergebnisse, p. 167 - 171; Knodel: Decline, p. 120 - 127; see also the methodological comment on this source H. Linde: Familie und Haushalt als Gegenstand bevölkerungsgeschichtlicher Forschung. Erörterung eines problembezogenen und materialorientierten Bezugsrahmens, in: Conze (Ed.), Sozialgeschichte der Familie, p. 40 f..
- 5 Cf. Th. Geiger: Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes. Soziographischer Versuch auf statistischer Basis, 2nd ed., Darmstadt 1967, p. 36 - 42, 72 - 75; J. Bergmann u. K. Megerle: Politische Orientierung und Aktivitäten gesellschaftlicher Gruppen in der Wei-

- marer Republik, Berlin: Freie Universität, FB 15, 1980 (mimeo), p. 8 - 11; see also the revisional remarks by W. Fischer: Die Rolle des Kleingewerbes im wirtschaftlichen Wachstumsprozeß in Deutschland 1850 - 1914, in: idem, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung, Göttingen 1972, p. 338 - 348 (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 1).
- 6 Cf. also A. E. Imhof: Ländliche Familienstrukturen an einem hessischen Beispiel: Heuchelheim 1690 - 1900, in: Conze (Ed.), Sozialgeschichte der Familie, p. 208 f.; idem: Die gewonnenen Jahre. Von der Zunahme unserer Lebensspanne seit dreihundert Jahren ..., München 1981, p. 176 - 181; K. Astel u. E. Weber: Die Kinderzahl der 29000 politischen Leiter des Gaues Thüringen der NSDAP und die Ursachen der ermittelten Fortpflanzungshäufigkeit, Berlin 1943, p. 29.
- 7 Cf. v. Nell: Entwicklung, p. 45 ff.; Castell: Forschungsergebnisse, p. 168.
- 8 Cf. Knodel: Decline, p. 38 - 68, 80 - 112.
- 9 Cf. Linde: Familie, p. 40.
- 10 Cf. Linde: Familie, p. 40; idem: Die generative Form spezifischer Bevölkerungen, in: Raum und Gesellschaft. Forschungs- und Sitzungsberichte der Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung, vol. 1 (1950), p. 28 f.; J. Knodel: From Natural Fertility to Family Limitation: The Onset of Fertility Transition in a Sample of German Villages, in: Demography, vol. 16 (1979), p. 514, 518.
- 11 Cf. R. Spree: Soziale Ungleichheit vor Krankheit und Tod. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Gesundheitsbereichs im Deutschen Kaiserreich, Göttingen 1981, p. 56 - 60, 171 ff..

Table 1

Number of children born up to the n-th year of marriage per period of marriage contraction, cumulated frequencies (in percentage); craftsmen; Thuringia; late 19th and early 20th centuries

period of marriage contraction	duration of marriage (in years)												number of children	number of fertile marriages
	0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	≥11.		
before 1900	3,3	17,9	25,6	34,1	41,0	47,8	54,3	60,8	65,1	69,7	74,0	100	4664	1565
1900 - 1914	4,5	24,8	36,5	46,4	54,3	61,4	67,2	72,3	76,8	80,7	84,0	100	10146	4070
1915 - 1929	4,5	29,1	43,2	54,0	63,4	71,3	77,7	83,0	87,2	90,7	93,5	100	8367	4454
Number of children born up to the n-th year of marriage per fertile marriage classified according to period of marriage contraction														
before 1900	0,10	0,53	0,76	1,02	1,22	1,42	1,62	1,81	1,94	2,08	2,21	2,98		
1900 - 1914	0,11	0,62	0,91	1,16	1,35	1,53	1,68	1,80	1,91	2,01	2,09	2,49		
1915 - 1929	0,08	0,55	0,81	1,01	1,19	1,34	1,46	1,56	1,64	1,70	1,76	1,88		

The source only took into account those children who were surviving up to the fixed day of survey. The more the periods of marriage contraction date back, the more these numbers of children are distorted by infant mortality and by war and other influences of that kind when compared to the total birth-rate which is the really interesting figure. When compared to the total number of children born to the recorded married couples of the period of marriage contraction before 1900 (7219 ones), 2555 children lack here, that is 35,4 %. Among those marriages which had been contracted between 1900 and 1914 2689 children out of a total number of 12835 births are still lacking; but the proportion of the lacking ones only amounts to about 21 %. In the cohort 1915 - 29 1040 children out of 9407 are lacking, that is 11 %. Consequently the mistake occurs in the cohorts in different ways.

Source: Astel/Weber; cf. table 7.

Table 2

Children born up to the n-th year of marriage per period of contracted marriages; cumulated frequencies (in percentage); farmers (Erbhofbauern); Thuringia; late 19th and early 20th centuries

period of marriage contraction	duration of marriage (in years)												number of children	number of fertile marriages
	0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	≥11.		
before 1900	3,6	18,6	26,9	35,8	42,7	49,1	55,8	61,8	66,3	70,9	74,9	100	13322	3289
1900 - 1914	4,7	25,9	37,3	46,9	54,5	61,7	67,3	72,4	76,9	80,6	83,9	100	24310	7300
1915 - 1929	4,9	30,2	44,2	54,7	63,8	71,4	77,7	82,8	86,9	90,3	93,0	100	15157	6074
	Children born up to the n-th year of marriage per fertile marriage classified according to period of marriage contraction													
before 1900	0,15	0,75	1,09	1,45	1,73	1,99	2,26	2,50	2,69	2,87	3,03	4,05		
1900 - 1914	0,16	0,86	1,24	1,56	1,81	2,05	2,24	2,41	2,56	2,68	2,79	3,33		
1915 - 1929	0,12	0,75	1,10	1,36	1,59	1,78	1,94	2,07	2,17	2,25	2,32	2,50		

Source: Computed according to Stengel-v. Rutkowski, L.: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die Fortpflanzung der 20000 thüringischen Bauern. München u. Berlin 1939, S. 23 f., Tab. 4 a and p. 42, Tab. 9 (Politische Biologie, Bd. 10).

Table 3

Average number of children per marriage<sup>1</sup> in the petite bourgeoisie<sup>2</sup> and in selected occupational groups classified according to period of marriage contraction; German Reich<sup>3</sup>; late 19th and early 20th centuries

occupational group	period of marriage contraction					
	before 1905	1905/09	1910/14	1915/19	1920/24	1925/29
independents in industry and craft	4,31	3,37	2,85	2,37	2,10	1,84
of them in typical skilled craft professions	4,42	3,47	2,94	2,45	2,17	1,88
remaining independents in industry and craft	3,84	2,97	2,50	2,08	1,85	1,65
independents in trade	3,65	2,73	2,30	1,95	1,69	1,49
in transportation	4,40	3,27	2,73	2,31	2,03	1,83
in hotels/restaurants	4,00	2,99	2,47	2,01	1,78	1,50
other independents (especially free-lance professions)	3,21	2,47	2,17	1,84	1,66	1,48
of them doctors	2,65	2,48	2,29	2,07	2,03	1,96
lawyers/notaries	2,97	2,41	2,25	1,95	1,76	1,73
civil servants and professional soldiers <sup>4</sup>	3,52	2,92	2,51	2,14	1,82	1,64
of them lower level railway servants	4,30	3,61	3,09	2,53	2,09	1,61
primary teachers a.s.o.	3,04	2,66	2,38	2,15	1,95	1,86
salaried employees <sup>4</sup>	3,39	2,66	2,26	1,91	1,63	1,45
of them foremen	3,82	3,03	2,57	2,13	1,81	1,55
workers	4,67	3,82	3,27	2,76	2,39	2,05
of them in printing industry	3,20	2,43	2,09	1,77	1,49	1,31
in building trade	5,23	4,45	3,84	3,31	2,87	2,45
independent farmers	5,56	4,69	4,12	3,52	3,13	2,72
total population	4,67	3,58	3,07	2,58	2,27	1,98

Table 3 continued

- 1) Children born to those first marriages existing in 1939 resp. subsequently legitimated children, including still-borns, those having meanwhile died and those living outside of the home. Children of those women living in separation from their husbands and infertile marriages are included as well.
- 2) The above listed groups of independents in commercial production, trade, transportation, and restaurant industry display enormous differences regarding income, capital, firm-size, and number of employees, but under the aspect of marital fertility the majority of each group should be included in the petite bourgeoisie. The small number of large capitalists could hardly have influenced the figures in discussion here.
- 3) German Reich; territory of May, 1939 (excluding the region of the river Niemen).
- 4) Both excluding agriculture.

Source: Computed according to Volkszählung. Die Familien im Deutschen Reich. Bearbeitet im Statistischen Reichsamt, Berlin 1943, S. 62 - 81 (= Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Bd. 554: Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung v. 17.5.1939).

Table 4

Decline of the average number of children per marriage in the petite bourgeoisie and in selected occupational groups; German Reich; late 19th and early 20th centuries (in percentage)

occupational group	period of marriage contraction	
	before 1905 until 1905/09	before 1905 until 1925/29
independents in industry and craft	22	57
of them in typical skilled craft professions	21	57
remaining independents in industry and craft	23	57
independents in trade	25	59
in transportation	26	58
in hotels/restaurants	25	63
other independents (especially free-lance professions)	23	54
of them independent doctors	6	26
lawyers/notaries	19	42
civil servants and professional soldiers	17	53
of them lower level railway servants	16	63
primary teachers a.s.o.	13	39
salaried employees	22	57
of them foremen	21	59
workers	19	56
of them in printing industry	24	59
in building trade	15	53
independent farmers	16	51
total population	23	58

Annotations and source-material cf. table 3.

Table 5

Average number of children per marriage in selected occupational groups classified according to period of marriage contraction in percentage of the number of children of independent craftsmen; German Reich; late 19th and early 20th centuries.

occupational group	period of contracted marriages					
	before 1905	1905/ 09	1910/ 14	1915/ 19	1920/ 24	1925/ 29
independents in industry and craft	98	97	97	97	97	98
of them in typical skilled craft professions	100	100	100	100	100	100
remaining independents in industry and craft	87	86	85	85	85	88
independents in trade	83	79	78	80	78	79
in transportation	100	94	93	94	94	97
in hotels/ restaurants	91	86	84	82	82	80
other independents (espe- cially free-lance prof.)	73	71	74	75	77	79
of them independent doctors	60	71	78	84	94	104
lawyers/notaries	67	69	76	80	81	92
civil servants and professional soldiers	80	84	85	87	84	87
of them lower level railway servants	97	104	105	103	96	86
primary teachers a.s.o.	69	77	81	88	90	99
salaried employees	77	77	77	78	75	77
of them foremen	86	87	87	87	83	82
workers	106	110	111	113	110	109
of them in printing industry	72	70	71	72	69	70
in building trade	118	128	131	135	132	130
independent farmers	126	135	140	144	144	145
total population	106	103	104	105	105	105

Annotations and source-material cf. table 3.



Table 6.1

Average number of children per marriage classified according to occupational group , municipality-size and period of marriage contraction

municipality-size	occupational group	period of marriage contraction					
		before 1905	1905/ 09	1910/ 14	1915/ 19	1920/ 24	1925/ 29
municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	independent farmers	5,55	4,69	4,12	3,53	3,13	2,73
	independents outside agriculture	4,90	3,99	3,42	2,86	2,52	2,19
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	4,33	3,69	3,20	2,70	2,32	2,03
	employees outside agriculture	4,32	3,56	3,12	2,62	2,29	1,98
	workers outside agriculture	5,38	4,62	4,04	3,51	3,01	2,54
	total number of married couples	5,29	4,42	3,91	3,37	2,96	2,55
municipalities with 2000 up to less than 100.000 inhabitants	independent farmers	5,49	4,54	3,98	3,37	3,05	2,59
	independents outside agriculture	4,18	3,22	2,73	2,27	1,98	1,73
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	3,80	3,16	2,71	2,31	1,99	1,78
	employees outside agriculture	3,68	2,94	2,50	2,14	1,83	1,62

Table 6.1 continued

	workers outside agriculture	4,89	4,06	3,49	2,91	2,48	2,13
	total number of married couples	4,76	3,65	3,12	2,62	2,27	1,99
large cities with 200.000 and more inhabitants	independent farmers	4,41	3,31	2,85	2,36	2,04	1,77
	independents outside agriculture	3,21	2,31	1,92	1,55	1,30	1,14
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	2,97	2,43	2,06	1,76	1,44	1,32
	employees outside agriculture	2,90	2,24	1,88	1,59	1,32	1,19
	workers outside agriculture	3,94	3,07	2,56	2,10	1,78	1,55
	total number of married couples	3,77	2,66	2,21	1,83	1,53	1,38
all municipalities	total number of married couples	4,67	3,58	3,07	2,58	2,27	1,98
	independents outside agriculture	4,04	3,12	2,62	2,17	1,92	1,68

Table 6.2

Group-specific number of children per marriage in percentage of the average for the total population classified according to period of marriage contraction

municipality size	occupational group	period of marriage contraction					
		before 1905	1905/09	1910/14	1915/19	1920/24	1925/29
municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	independent farmers	119	131	134	137	138	138
	independents outside agriculture	105	111	111	111	111	111
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	93	103	104	105	102	103
	employees outside agriculture	93	99	102	102	101	100
	workers outside agriculture	115	129	132	136	133	128
	total number of married couples	113	123	127	131	130	129
municipalities with 2000 up to less than 100.000 inhabitants	independent farmers	118	127	130	131	134	131
	independents outside agriculture	90	90	89	88	87	87
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	81	88	88	90	88	90
	employees outside agriculture	79	82	81	83	81	82

Table 6.2 continued

	workers outside agriculture	105	113	114	113	109	108
	total number of married couples	102	102	102	102	100	101
large cities with 200,000 and more inhabitants	independent farmers	94	92	93	91	90	89
	independents outside agriculture	69	64	63	60	57	58
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	64	68	67	68	63	67
	employees outside agriculture	62	63	61	62	58	60
	workers outside agriculture	84	86	83	81	78	78
	total number of married couples	81	74	72	71	67	70
all municipa- lities	total number of married couples	100	100	100	100	100	100
	independents outside agriculture	87	87	85	84	85	85

Table 6.3

Group-specific number of children per marriage in percentage of the respective figures for large cities classified according to period of marriage contraction

municipality-size	occupational group	period of marriage contraction					
		before 1905	1905/ 09	1910/ 14	1915/ 19	1920/ 24	1925/ 29
municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	independent farmers	126	142	145	150	153	154
	independents outside agriculture	153	173	178	185	194	192
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	146	152	155	153	161	154
	employees outside agriculture	149	159	166	165	173	166
	workers outside agriculture	137	150	158	167	169	164
	total number of married couples	140	166	177	184	193	185
municipalities with 2000 up to less than 100.000 inhabitants	independent farmers	124	137	140	143	150	146
	independents outside agriculture	130	139	142	146	152	152
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	128	130	132	131	138	135
	employees outside agriculture	127	131	133	135	139	136
	workers outside	124	132	136	139	139	137

Table 6.3 continued

	total number of married couples	126	137	141	143	148	144
large cities with 200,000 and more inhabitants	independent farmers	100	100	100	100	100	100
	independents outside agriculture	100	100	100	100	100	100
	civil servants/professional soldiers outside agriculture	100	100	100	100	100	100
	employees outside agriculture	100	100	100	100	100	100
	workers outside agriculture	100	100	100	100	100	100
	total number of married couples	100	100	100	100	100	100
all municipa- lities	total number of married couples	124	135	139	141	148	143
	independents outside agriculture	126	135	136	140	148	147

Table 7

Average number of children per marriage; craftsmen; Thuringia; late 19th and early 20th centuries: classified according to period of marriage contraction; in villages (v) and small towns (t)

period of marriage contraction	number of marriages		proportion of marriages without children (in percentage)		average number of children per marriage		number of children (t) in percentage of (v)
	v	t	v	t	v	t	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
before 1900	188	153	3,2	1,3	4,6	4,3	93
1900 - 1904	153	115	3,3	8,7	3,8	3,2	84
1905 - 1909	176	165	8,0	7,3	3,2	2,7	84
1910 - 1914	221	169	5,4	11,8	2,8	2,2	79
1915 - 1919	206	143	5,3	14,7	2,6	1,9	73
1920 - 1924	383	233	7,6	15,0	2,2	1,7	77
1925 - 1929	248	131	9,7	23,7	1,7	1,3	76

1) village here means a place with less than 1000 inhabitants

2) small town here means a place with 25.000 - 50.000 inhabitants

Source: Astel, K., and Weber, E.: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die Fortpflanzung von 14000 Handwerksmeistern und selbständigen Handwerkern Mittelthüringens. Berlin 1939, S. 52, Tab. 33 and 35 (Politische Biologie, Bd. 8).

Table 8

Average number of children per completed marriage<sup>1</sup> (age of marriage for women less than 30 years) in different social classes; Lower Saxony<sup>2</sup>; end of the 18th century up to 1939

social class period of marriage contraction	'New Middle Class'			independents in industry, craft and trade	farmers
	educated class <sup>3</sup>	rising class <sup>4</sup>	total		
1	2	3	4	5	6
before 1800	5,8	.	5,7	.	6,7
1800 - 1849	5,8	.	5,5	.	6,2
1850 - 1874	4,3	.	4,2	4,4	5,4
1875 - 1899	2,9	3,4	3,1	4,3	4,2
1900 - 1914	2,5	2,6	2,5	2,8	3,5
1915 - 1924	2,7	1,9	2,3	1,8	3,2
1925 - 1934	2,6	2,2	2,4	3,0	3,3
1930 - 1939	2,6	2,1	2,3	3,1	3,3

- 1) Marriages having lasted up to the woman's age of 45 (completed fertile period)
- 2) The investigation is based on 49 citizen- and peasant-genealogies of Lower Saxony = approximately 3000 families; the geographical area has not been defined more precisely.
- 3) The "new middle class" comprises all civil servants, salaried employees, and free-lance (academically trained) professions. The educated class comprises: high administrative and judicial officers, diplomatists and high political officials, officers (upwards from lieutenants), university-professors and masters at school, free-lance professions (excluding engineers and architects).
- 4) Managerial employees in commercial production including engineers and architects, higher and lower civil servants including teachers without academic education, middle and lower level government and private employees.
- 5) Great and middle farmers, tenant farmers and hereditary tenants.

Source: Nell, A.v.: Die Entwicklung der generativen Strukturen bürgerlicher und bäuerlicher Familien von 1750 bis zur Gegenwart. Diss. Bochum 1973, S. 29, 58 94.



Table 9

Average number of children<sup>1</sup> per marriage<sup>2</sup> in different occupational groups, Thuringia<sup>3</sup>, classified according to period of marriage contraction

period of marriage contraction	farmers	masterartisans and independent craftsmen	independent businessmen	civil servants	government employees	skilled workers and journeymen	unskilled workers including farm- and forest-workers	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1880 - 1884	3,6	} 5,2	.	.	.	.	.	
1885 - 1889	4,0		.	.	.	.	.	
1890 - 1894	3,9		4,5	.	.	.	.	
1895 - 1899	3,7		4,1	.	3,1	.	.	
before 1900	3,8	4,4	3,4	3,2	3,8	4,8	} 6,9	
1900 - 1904	3,6	3,5	3,8	2,5	3,3	4,1		
1905 - 1909	3,2	2,9	2,6	2,4	2,8	3,7		3,3
1910 - 1914	2,9	2,5	2,4	2,1	2,4	3,2		3,8
1915 - 1919	2,7	2,2	1,9	1,8	1,8	2,6		3,0
1920 - 1924	2,3	1,9	1,9	1,6	1,5	2,3		2,6
1925 - 1929	1,9	1,5	1,7	1,6	1,4	1,9		2,2

- 1) Live births; ; birth-rate is superior to this rate by still-births and miscarriages.
- 2) The basis referred to is the total number of marriages, that is, the infertile marriages are included as well. The respective period of fertility has to be regarded as completed.
- 3) The figures in the columns 2, 3 and 5 are representative for Thuringia; the other columns only give rough indication of a probable magnitude. In particular the figures of the columns 6 and 8 suffer from a too small number of data.

Sources: column 2: Stengel-v. Rutkowski, L.: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die

Table 9 continued

Fortpflanzung der 20.000 thüringischen Bauern. München a. Berlin 1939, S. 23 ff. (Politische Biologie, Bd. 10).

column 3: Astel, K., and Weber, E.: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die Fortpflanzung von 14.000 Handwerksmeistern und selbständigen Handwerkern Mittelthüringens. München and Berlin 1939, S. 31 (Politische Biologie, Bd. 8).

columns 5 and 6: Astel and Weber: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die Fortpflanzung von 12.000 Beamten und Angestellten der thüringischen Staatsverwaltung. München and Berlin 1939, S. 86 (Politische Biologie Bd. 9).

columns 4, 7 and 8: Astel and Weber: Die Kinderzahl der 29.000 politischen Leiter des Gaues Thüringen der NSDAP und die Ursachen der ermittelten Fortpflanzungshäufigkeit. Berlin 1943, Tabelle 20.

Table 10.1

Cumulated frequencies of marriages upto n children per occupational group; period of marriage contraction up to 1905

occupational group	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and more
independents in industry and craft	6	15	31	47	61	71	79	85	90	93	100
of them in typical skilled craft professions	6	15	29	45	59	70	78	84	89	93	100
remaining independents in industry and craft	7	17	36	54	68	78	85	89	93	95	100
independents in trade	9	21	40	57	70	80	86	90	93	95	100
in transportation	7	17	31	46	59	70	78	84	89	92	100
in hotels/restaurants	7	18	34	50	65	75	83	88	92	95	100
other independents (especially free-lance professions)	11	24	45	64	77	85	90	93	96	97	100
of them doctors	11	25	51	74	87	94	97	98	99	99	100
lawyers/notaries	9	21	42	66	83	92	96	97	99	99	100
civil servants and professional soldiers	6	19	40	59	73	82	88	92	95	97	100
of them lower level railway servants	4	12	27	45	60	72	81	87	92	95	100
primary teachers a.s.o.	5	21	47	69	82	89	93	96	97	98	100
salaried employees	9	22	43	61	74	83	89	93	95	97	100
of them foremen	6	18	36	53	68	78	85	90	94	96	100
workers	7	15	28	41	55	66	75	82	87	92	100
of them in printing industry	11	25	46	63	76	85	90	94	96	97	100
in building trade	6	12	23	35	47	58	68	76	83	88	100
independent farmers	4	11	20	32	43	54	64	72	80	86	100
total population	7	16	30	43	55	66	74	81	86	91	100

annotations and source-material cf. table 3

Table 10.2

Cumulated frequencies of marriages per occupational group with up to n children; period of marriage contraction 1905/1909

occupational group	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1.0 and more
independents in industry and craft	8	21	42	61	74	84	89	93	96	97	100
of them in typical skilled craft professions	7	20	41	59	73	82	89	93	95	97	100
remaining independents in industry and craft	9	25	49	69	81	88	93	95	97	98	100
independents in trade	12	30	55	73	84	90	94	96	98	99	100
in transportation	10	24	45	63	76	84	90	93	95	97	100
in hotels/restaurants	10	26	48	67	80	88	93	96	98	99	100
other independents (especially free-lance professions)	14	33	59	77	88	93	96	97	98	99	100
of them doctors	13	28	54	77	90	95	98	99	100	100	100
lawyers/notaries	13	28	56	78	91	96	98	99	100	100	100
civil servants and professional soldiers	7	25	50	70	82	89	93	96	98	99	100
or them lower level railway servants	5	17	37	57	72	82	88	93	95	97	100
primary teachers a.s.o.	7	27	55	76	87	93	96	97	99	99	100
salaried employees	11	30	56	74	85	91	95	97	98	99	100
of them foremen	8	25	49	67	80	87	92	95	97	98	100
workers	7	19	37	53	67	77	84	89	93	96	100
of them in printing industry	13	35	61	78	87	93	96	98	99	99	100
in building trade	6	15	29	44	58	69	78	84	90	93	100
independent farmers	5	12	25	40	54	66	75	83	88	92	100
total population	9	22	41	58	71	79	86	90	94	96	100

annotations and source-material cf. table 3

Table 10.3

Cumulated frequencies of marriages per occupational group with up to n children; period of marriage contraction 1925/29

occupational group	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and more
independents in industry and craft	20	45	73	88	95	98	99	100	100	100	100
of them in typical skilled craft professions	19	44	72	87	94	97	99	100	100	100	100
remaining independents in industry and craft	23	50	77	91	96	98	99	100	100	100	100
independents in trade	27	56	81	92	97	99	99	100	100	100	100
in transportation	20	47	73	88	95	98	99	99	100	100	100
in hotels/restaurants	28	55	80	92	97	99	99	100	100	100	100
other independents (especially free-lance professions)	28	56	80	92	97	99	100	100	100	100	100
of them doctors	21	40	66	86	95	99	100	100	100	100	100
lawyers/notaries	23	44	73	90	97	99	100	100	100	100	100
civil servants and professional soldiers	22	51	78	91	97	99	99	100	100	100	100
of them lower level railway servants	23	54	79	91	96	98	99	100	100	100	100
primary teachers a.s.o.	16	41	73	89	96	99	100	100	100	100	100
salaried employees	26	58	83	93	97	99	99	100	100	100	100
of them foremen	23	56	81	92	97	98	99	100	100	100	100
workers	16	44	69	83	91	95	98	99	99	100	100
of them in printing industry	28	64	86	94	98	99	99	100	100	100	100
in building trade	13	35	60	76	86	92	96	98	99	100	100
independent farmers	10	26	52	72	84	92	96	98	99	100	100
total population	19	45	70	84	92	96	98	99	100	100	100

annotations and source-material cf. table 3

Table 11:

Average number of children per marriage and frequency of "family-size-models"; craftsmen; Thuringia; late 19th and early 20th centuries; classified according to period of marriage contraction

period of marriage contraction	frequency of marriages with n children (in percentage)											average number of children per marriage
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	≥ 10	
before 1890	4,1	5,2	11,5	16,0	13,2	13,0	7,4	6,6	8,4	5,6	9,0	5,2
1890 - 1894	4,6	7,8	16,7	14,6	12,9	12,7	8,6	6,5	4,5	5,3	5,8	4,5
1895 - 1899	4,9	7,8	19,0	16,3	17,1	9,0	8,2	7,0	3,0	3,2	4,5	4,1
1900 - 1904	5,9	9,3	21,5	21,5	15,1	9,8	6,3	5,1	2,9	1,5	1,1	3,5
1905 - 1909	7,1	14,6	28,0	20,0	12,9	7,5	5,3	1,5	1,6	0,7	0,8	2,9
1910 - 1914	10,2	17,9	29,3	20,6	11,9	5,1	2,6	1,1	0,5	0,6	0,2	2,5
1915 - 1919	9,9	23,0	31,4	19,6	9,3	4,2	1,0	0,8	0,2	0,2	0,4	2,2
1920 - 1924	13,1	28,2	33,2	16,2	6,2	2,0	0,6	0,3	0,1	0,1	---	1,9
1925 - 1929	17,3	39,9	29,3	9,5	3,0	0,7	0,2	0,1	---	---	---	1,5
	cumulated frequencies of marriages with up to n children (in percentage)											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	≥ 10	
before 1890	4,1	9,3	20,8	36,8	50,0	63,0	70,4	77,0	85,4	91,0	100,0	
1890 - 1894	4,6	12,4	29,1	43,7	56,6	69,3	77,9	84,4	88,9	94,2	100,0	
1895 - 1899	4,9	12,7	31,7	48,0	65,1	74,1	82,3	89,3	92,3	95,5	100,0	
1900 - 1904	5,9	15,2	36,7	58,2	73,3	83,1	89,4	94,5	97,4	98,9	100,0	
1905 - 1909	7,1	21,7	49,7	69,7	82,6	90,1	95,4	96,9	98,5	99,2	100,0	
1910 - 1914	10,2	28,1	57,4	78,0	89,9	95,0	97,6	98,7	99,2	99,8	100,0	

Table 11 continued

1915 - 1919	9,9	32,9	64,3	83,9	93,2	97,4	98,4	99,2	99,4	99,6	100,0
1920 - 1924	13,1	41,3	74,5	90,7	96,9	98,9	99,5	99,8	99,9	100,0	100,0
1925 - 1929	17,3	57,2	86,5	96,0	99,0	99,7	99,9	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Computed according to Astel, K. and Weber, E.: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die Fortpflanzung von 14.000 Handwerksmeistern und selbständigen Handwerkern Mittelthüringens. Berlin 1939, S. 28, Tab. 10 (Politische Biologie, Bd. 8).

Table 12:

Average number of children per marriage<sup>1</sup> and frequency of "family-size-models"; classified according to period of marriage contraction; civil servants; Thuringia; late 19th and early 20th centuries

period of marriage contraction	frequency of marriages with n children (in percentage)											average number of children per marriage
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	≥10	
before 1900	6,5	14,4	20,1	24,5	13,7	8,6	7,2	2,2	0,7	1,4	0,7	3,2
1900 - 1904	7,7	19,1	31,9	20,8	9,9	5,2	3,2	1,7	---	0,3	0,2	2,5
1905 - 1909	7,4	21,4	30,8	20,0	14,0	3,9	1,7	0,4	0,2	0,1	0,1	2,4
1910 - 1914	8,2	24,4	34,8	18,6	9,2	2,4	1,4	0,7	0,2	0,1	---	2,1
1915 - 1919	11,1	29,0	36,9	15,6	4,8	1,5	0,5	0,2	0,2	0,2	---	1,8
1920 - 1924	15,0	31,7	35,3	12,4	4,7	0,6	0,2	0,1	---	---	---	1,6
1925 - 1929	16,0	33,7	34,3	12,0	3,6	0,4	---	---	---	---	---	1,6
	cumulated frequencies of marriages with up to n children (in percentage)											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	≥10	
before 1900	6,5	20,9	41,0	65,5	79,2	87,8	95,0	97,2	97,9	99,3	100,0	
1900 - 1904	7,7	26,8	58,7	79,5	89,4	94,6	97,8	99,5	99,5	99,8	100,0	
1905 - 1909	7,4	28,8	59,6	79,6	93,6	97,5	99,2	99,6	99,8	99,9	100,0	
1910 - 1914	8,2	32,6	67,4	86,0	95,2	97,6	99,0	99,7	99,9	100,0	100,0	
1915 - 1919	11,1	40,1	77,0	92,6	97,4	98,9	99,4	99,6	99,8	100,0	100,0	
1920 - 1924	15,0	46,7	82,0	94,4	99,1	99,7	99,9	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	
1925 - 1929	16,0	49,7	84,0	96,0	99,6	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	



Table 12 continued

Source: Computed according to Astel, K. and Weber, E.: Die unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung. Untersuchung über die Fortpflanzung von 12.000 Beamten und Angestellten der Thüringischen Staatsverwaltung. Berlin 1939, S. 82 and 90 (Politische Biologie, Bd. 9).

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- 1) Included are only first marriages.
  - 2) The figures for the early periods of marriage contraction are probably distorted, for only those civil servants have been recorded who were still on duty on the fixed day of survey (1936). Almost without exception they were of an age of maximally 65 years. civil servants however usually married relatively late and therefore had children at an age of 30 years and more. Many civil servants are lacking in the sample who already had had retired in 1936 although they had married and had procreated children before 1900 at an age of 30 years and more, before 1905 at an age of 35 years, and before 1910 at an age of 40 years. Those who married late are misrepresented till 1910.  
(cf. page 27 f.)